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ments. All these, it will be noticed, have been strictly from the patrilineal point of view, in accordance with the natives' present preoccupation with patrilineal descent and patrilocal residence.

There is, however, another side to the question, namely the principle of matrilineal descent, which is less obvious on the surface but nevertheless forms the foundation of the whole social system.

Matrilineal Moieties and Marriage Sections

We have already seen how Vaô is the most northerly outpost of the patrilineal area, which includes the whole of the South and Central New Hebrides, and that in the islands immediately to the north and northeast there is a dual organisation consisting of two exogamous matrilineal moieties with descent reckoned in the female line. These two matrilineal moieties are found also throughout the Small Islands in the social divisions referred to by the natives in pidgin-English as "lines," the word "line" being applied to that section of each matrilineal moiety that is found in any one patrilocal village. In this way each village contains two "lines," each such "line" consisting of those members of the village who belong to one of the two matrilineal moieties that extend throughout this wide area despite the overt patrilocal organisation. Thus, in the great Maki rite each "line" alternately acts as introducer to the other.[1] In Atchin the wooden images set up by the members of each "line" are for this reason called *n'ei weaweng*, of which the first word, *n'ei*, means "wood" and hence "wooden image," and the second word, *weaweng*, is equivalent to the Oba expression *wai vung* meaning "matrilineal moiety," of which the literal rendering is "'bunches of fruit' . . . as if all the members hang on the same branch."[2]

Similar "lines" are found in Raga and Ambrim, where in each case their existence is due, as in the Small Islands, to the influence of the matrilineal moieties on the overt patrilineal social organisation.

It will be noted, therefore, that in all the areas just mentioned descent is both patrilineal in respect of the overt patrilineal organisation, *and* matrilineal in respect of the exogamous matrilineal moieties. This fact led Rivers, in his attempt to understand the kinship system of North Raga, to put forward the suggestion that there might possibly exist in these islands what are called "class systems" of kinship similar in essentials to those found in most parts of Australia.[3]

Rivers did not, however, succeed in working out the details of any such system, and it was left to the genius and determination of Deacon actually to demonstrate the existence of a class system in Ambrim.[4] This

[1] See p. 294.
[2] Rivers, 1, vol. II, pp. 66, 75.
[3] Codrington, 3, p. 26.
[4] Deacon, 2.

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proved to be a 6-section system formed by the simultaneous operation of the two matrilineal moieties with three patrilineal descent groups, in which each patrilineal descent group was divided into two "lines," and each of the six "lines" so formed represented what among anthropologists is known as a "marriage section."

It will from the above description be clear that considerable similarities exist between the Ambrim system and that of Vao, where there are also two matrilineal moieties and three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three patrilocal double-villages. When my own field-work was carried out, however, class systems of kinship were but little known. At that time Professor Radcliffe-Brown's monograph on the Australian systems had not yet appeared, and it was not till many years after that Deacon discovered the Ambrim system. I was therefore unable at that time to interpret the indications found in the Vao system which, in the light of more recent knowledge, make it quite plain that, if not actually a class system, it at least has many features in common with one. A re-examination of the kinship terminology that I had recorded, and which is given in a later chapter, tended to confirm this supposition, and has made it possible, if not to solve the whole problem, at least to understand the principles that go to build it up, and to view the whole system as an organic structure.

This is the more necessary in that the more deeply we go into the mythology and ritual activities of the natives, the more evident it becomes that of all factors leading to their development the problem of kinship, and especially the changes that have come about in the kinship system, are the most vital and far-reaching.

One of the main difficulties in the understanding of class systems has always been the manner in which they have been presented to the reader by means of a complicated system of lettering without adequate diagrams and with so much emphasis on detail that the main principles on which they are founded, though quite simple, have been obscured. Thus, while the two systems discovered by Deacon on Ambrim were made clear to him by the natives by means of stones representing the three patrilineal descent groups combined with lines indicating the division between these groups and others indicating descent in the two matrilineal moieties, these systems when written down in the terminology hitherto in use among anthropologists appeared so involved that the systems themselves have remained a sealed book to all but a few experts.

It was, therefore, in an attempt to simplify the presentation of such systems with a view to understanding my own records of the kinship system on Vao that I evolved a new technique of presentation which it is hoped will bring a knowledge of such systems within the grasp of any intelligent reader, and at the same time demonstrate their essential char-

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difficult to say which mode of descent is followed," in the system of Balap in South-West Ambrim, though similarly divided into six sections, it appeared to him that the matrilineal moieties were "absent, or only slightly developed." [1] This is an overstatement probably due to the fact that this was the first class system he met with and that, as in some Australian systems, these moieties, though they exist, appear not to be named.[2] Nevertheless the fact remains that the patrilineal element is here more in evidence than in North Ambrim, and this emphasis is undoubtedly due to the proximity of South-West Ambrim to the predominately patrilineal island of Malekula, whence this increased patrilineal influence has undoubtedly come in such a manner that, without destroying the 6-section system, it has here given it a new aspect by its insistence on overt patrilineal descent.

Added to this is the fact that in both Ambrim systems certain kinship terms are said by the natives to be "not straight," [3] by which is meant that these terms are applied to members of more than one kinship section, showing that the natives themselves clearly recognise that the system is already in process of dissolution, due almost certainly to the influence of the non-class patrilineal organisation encroaching from the south.

Similar Changes in Progress on Atchin

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Similar changes are in progress also in the Small Islands, where, for example on Atchin, one dominant patrilineal descent group has, during the past eight generations at least, been responsible for one innovation derived from the Malekulan mainland after another, in matters not only of ritual, as described elsewhere in this book, but also of kinship. At the time of my visit to that island, one of the main causes of domestic upheaval was the insistence of the dominant patrilocal village of Ruruar that the custom of marriage with the deceased father's father's wife, still practised on Vao and in the other patrilocal villages on Atchin owing to the action of the matrilineal moieties, should cease. This gradual innovation, illustrated by genealogical evidence as well as by accounts of the resulting domestic quarrels, leading at times to civil war within the group, will be fully dealt with in a future volume on Atchin.

[1] Deacon, 2, p. 333.

[2] That Deacon did not himself at that time fully understand the implications of this system is shown by his irregular numbering of the two "lines" or matrilineal moieties within each patrilineal descent group. Thus, instead of using the same number to designate a given matrilineal moiety throughout the Balap system, he represented one matrilineal moiety as consisting of A^1, B^2, C^3, and the other of A^2, B^1, C^1. This error was rectified in his description of the Ranon system, in which, as already seen, the two moieties are labelled A^1, B^1, C^1 and A^2, B^2, C^2.

[3] Compare the similar phrase used on Vao where only the organisation of Pete-hul is said to be "straight," being founded by Ta-ghar, and that the social organisation on the rest of the island is not "straight," having been founded by "mere man" (p. 154).

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which the chief is that a man and his younger brother's wife may not speak to one another, and if they meet on the road she has to turn aside to let him pass. This rule is part of the price paid by the elder brother for his superior position in a society in which primogeniture plays an important rôle, as, failing some such regulation, he might be tempted to exert his authority in a manner that would damage the solidarity of the clan. On the other hand, when the elder brother dies, his wife normally falls to the lot of the younger brother, who takes her in marriage and adopts the rôle of father towards his brother's children. This is one of the most frequent causes of polygamous marriage, and owing to this there are no rules of avoidance between a man and his elder brother's wife, even during the elder brother's lifetime.

In the same way, a man may not speak to his son's wife (*singuk*), and if the two meet, the woman must make way for and turn her back on her husband's father lest they should view one another from too close. A somewhat similar prohibition exists also with respect to a man and his wife's mother (*pelegak*), to whom he may neither speak, nor mention her name, nor go behind her back. These two elementary restrictions are not based on the same propinquity of dwelling as is the case with a man and his younger brother's wife, and appear rather to be due to the fact that in a 4-section system of kinship, which, we have seen, forms the basis of all class systems, these two women belong to the two sections (B^1 and A^2, see Fig. 30) into which, together with his own, he may not marry.

In the rules governing a man's behaviour to his wife's mother there is also another element, namely that of respect, which he shows also to his wife's father (also called *pelegak*), whose superior position is seen in the fact that, though the two may speak, the daughter's husband may not mention his wife's father's name nor go behind his back, and in this way treats him in the same way as he treats his wife's mother.

2

IMPLICATIONS OF THE VAO KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

THE 4-SECTION ELEMENT

If now we examine the kinship terminology, we find clear evidence of the existence of a class system in the large number of terminological equivalences caused by the grouping together of persons belonging to the same marriage section. Of these the simplest are:

(*a*) *tahuk*, used by a man for his WB and SisH;
(*b*) *rawak*, used by a woman for her HSis and BW;
(*c*) *soguk*, used for the MB and FSisH.

These three equivalences are common to all class systems owing to the custom of sister-exchange marriage.

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(*d*) What is, however, so far as I know, unique in this part of Melanesia is the fact that not only are the MB and FSisH called by a common term, but this term *soguk* is used also for the SisS and WBS, thus:

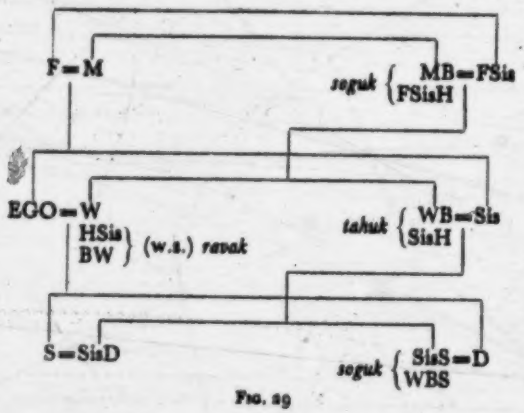

FIG. 29

These facts taken by themselves would indicate the existence of a 4-section system, as seen in Fig. 30:

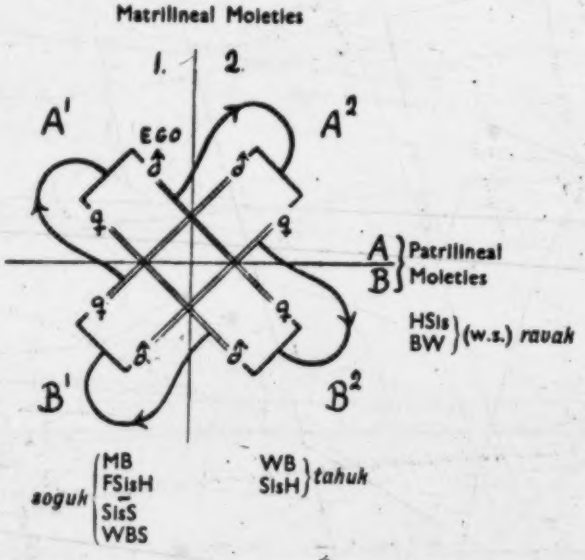

FIG. 30

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Not incompatible with this is the fact that all grandparents are referred to by one term (*tumbuk*, *bumbu* in address) and all grandchildren by another (*mambik*).

MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

Two very definite indications, however, show that this kinship system has developed beyond the 4-section stage.

(*e*) First among these is yet another terminological equivalence, this time between the DH and WF, who in a 4-section system belong to the MB's section, B[1], but are not included under the same term *soguk*, being addressed, on the contrary, by a different term, *pelegak*. This difference in terminology implies that they no longer belong to the same marriage section, and consequently that this section has become split.

Reference to Figs. 24 and 25, representing an 8-section system, and Figs. 26 to 28, representing the North Ambrim 6-section system, will show at a glance that in neither of these systems does the SisS belong to the same section as the MB, nor does the WF belong to the same section as the DH.[1] It is clear, therefore, that whatever the Vao system may be, it is not a class system belonging to either of these types.

(*f*) One very simple comparative feature makes this doubly clear, and furthermore points to the distinctive character of this system, by which it differs from all these previously recorded. It will be remembered that both types of class system just mentioned developed out of the original 4-section system by means of the sub-division of patrilineal moieties, and that while the matrilineal moieties in each case persist intact and cause a man to belong to the same marriage section as his FF and SS, the four patrilineal descent groups in an 8-section system cause a woman to belong to the same section as her MMMM and the three patrilineal descent groups in a 6-section system cause her to belong to the same section as her MMM. In other words, the number of generations separating those sociologically equivalent in the direct male line of descent results from the number of matrilineal descent groups, and in the female line from the number of patrilineal descent groups. In Ambrim the three patrilineal descent groups result not only in the equivalence of a woman with her MMM, but also in the fact that a man addresses his MMM by the same term as he addresses his sister, while the FF is called "brother."

[1] In these systems these relatives occupy the following sections:

8-Section		6-Section (Ambrim type)	
MB, FSiH, DH	B[1]	MB, FSisH, DH	C[1]
SisS, WBS, WF	BB[1]	SisS, WBS, WF	B[1]

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In the Vao system, as well as in that of all the other Small Islands, it is, on the contrary, a man's FFF whom he addresses as "elder brother" (*tutu, toghak*), and his SSS whom he calls "younger brother" (*tehik*). It will be seen from the above principle that this terminology points to the existence, formerly if not now, of three *matrilineal* descent groups (trisections) formed at some time by the bisection of one of the two matrilineal moieties, in contrast to the three *patrilineal* descent groups formed by the bisection of one of the two patrilineal moieties in Ambrim.

FORMULATION OF A 6-SECTION SYSTEM WITH MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

According to this interpretation, those aspects of the Vao kinship terminology so far examined thus point to a 6-section system similar to that of Ambrim in the number of marriage sections, but differing from it in that the sexes are in each case reversed. Both as a partial solution of the Vao problem and for its own theoretical interest, this system is illustrated in Fig. 31, in which the unsplit patrilineal moieties are represented in two columns with their original lettering A and B, and the three matrilineal trisections are, for reasons which will be apparent later, labelled X, Y and Z.

This formulation is seen to satisfy all the requirements of the Vao kinship terminology so far mentioned, namely:

(*a*) The equivalence of the WB and SisH, both of whom are referred to by a man as *tahuk*, together with the corresponding equivalence between the BW and HSis, both of whom are referred to by a woman as *ravak*.

(*b*) The equivalence of the MB, FSisH, SisS and WBS under the common term *soguk*.

(*c*) The separation from these of the DH and WF, both of whom are referred to by a man as *pelegak*.

(*d*) The equivalence of a man with his FFF, whom he calls "elder brother" (*toghak*), and with his SSS, whom he calls "younger brother" (*tehik*).

It also agrees in certain respects, though not entirely, with the reports recorded on pp. 74, 133 of the two apparently contrary meanings of the word *woroan* as being applied both to patrilineal moieties and to matrilineal trisections. With regard to the trisections, I was told that a woman's F and HF both belong to the same *woroan*, thus agreeing with their common membership in this diagram of trisection Y.[1]

[1] The case in point was that of Le-si's father Singon-tal (see Table X), whom she calls *u*, and her husband's father Ter-ter-mal, whom she calls *bumbu*, but both of whom belong to the same *woroan*.

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It will be noted that the form of marriage which would result from such a system would, tracing descent through the male line, be that of a man with his MBSD,[1] as opposed to that found in a 6-section system

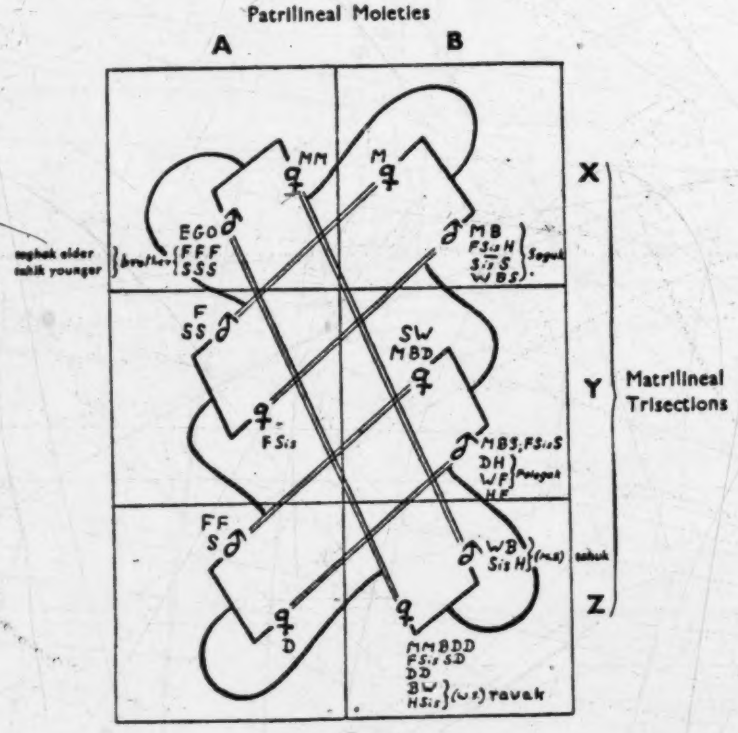

FIG. 31

6-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE) FORMED OF MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS X, Y, Z, AND PATRILINEAL MOIETIES A, B.

Includes most important equivalences in Vao kinship terminology. Note that of a man with his FFF and SSS, causing these to call one another "elder and younger brother."

$$\delta = \begin{cases} \text{MMBDD} \\ \text{FSisSD} \\ \text{DD} \end{cases}$$

of Ambrim type, which is that of a man with his MBDD. Both these are what might be termed first cross-cousins once removed traced in opposite lines of descent.

Traced through the female line, however, it will be seen that the

[1] This woman is also his FSisSD (see Fig. 31 and p. 158).

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601 617 prescribed bride is the same as that in an 8-section system of Australian type, namely that of a man with his MMBDD, or second cross-cousin in the female line. It will be noted further that, owing to the unsplit patrilineal moieties and the consequent equivalence between a man's sister and his MM, his MMBDD is at the same time his DD, whereas in the 6- and 8-section systems above mentioned, owing to the split patrilineal moieties, she is not. This fact is of more than theoretical importance, since it agrees with the statement made by one of Rivers's informants that in North Raga, where overt descent is still matrilineal, men "married their granddaughters."[1] Deacon, judging from his experience in Ambrim, where, as he himself shows, the former system of overt matrilineal descent has already been transformed into a patrilineal one, criticised Rivers's statement, interpreting it to mean that a man marries his MBDD as he does in Ambrim.[2] But the North Raga system agrees in so many other features with that of Vao that I am inclined to believe in Rivers's interpretation that a man did in fact marry a woman who was sociologically equivalent to his DD in the sense that he took his wife from the same marriage section as that to which his DD also belonged. If we may take Rivers's informant at his word, therefore, this evidence strongly supports the partial formulation deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao set out above.

Evidence from South Raga

617 173 Yet stronger evidence than this comes from South Raga, where, as in the Small Islands, the kinship system is in a state of transition and there are now, as in Vao, six patrilocal clans one of which has an origin myth recalling that of Pete-hul, it being said that the man and woman who were the first progenitors of the clan issued from an enormous liana.[3] Here there appears also to be a conflict between the existing marriage regulations based on patrilineal trisections[4] and a former system in which the trisections were matrilineal. This former system in South Raga is enshrined in a creation myth of the utmost importance, since in it the practical results of the kinship system it describes are stated in no uncertain terms.

According to this myth,[5] the creator-deity Barkulkul is represented as being one of six brothers. By throwing a roasted chestnut at the sixth brother's genitals Barkulkul turned him into a woman. Despite this, however, this brother still appears also in the legend as a man, and all six brothers go to the woman one after the other, whereon she addresses them all by different kinship terms.

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 199.
[2] Deacon, 2, p. 327.
[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 388.
[4] See p. 157 below.
[5] Tattevin, 2, 1929, pp. 984-7. The full story is much longer, and contains many important details besides the kinship factor here quoted.

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The sixth brother she calls "brother."
„ fifth „ „ „ "father."
„ fourth „ „ „ "first cousin," by which is meant "mother's brother's son."
„ third „ „ „ "grandfather," which similarly means "father's father."
„ second „ „ „ "son."
„ first (Barkulkul himself) she calls "her lover, her dear sorcerer," and they all say, "It is good. It is you whom she will marry." That evening he went in to the woman and married her.

If now we plot out these six relatives it will be seen that each one belongs to one of the six sections in a 6-section system with matrilineal trisections similar to that deduced from the kinship terminology of Vao, always remembering that in this case the speaker is a woman.

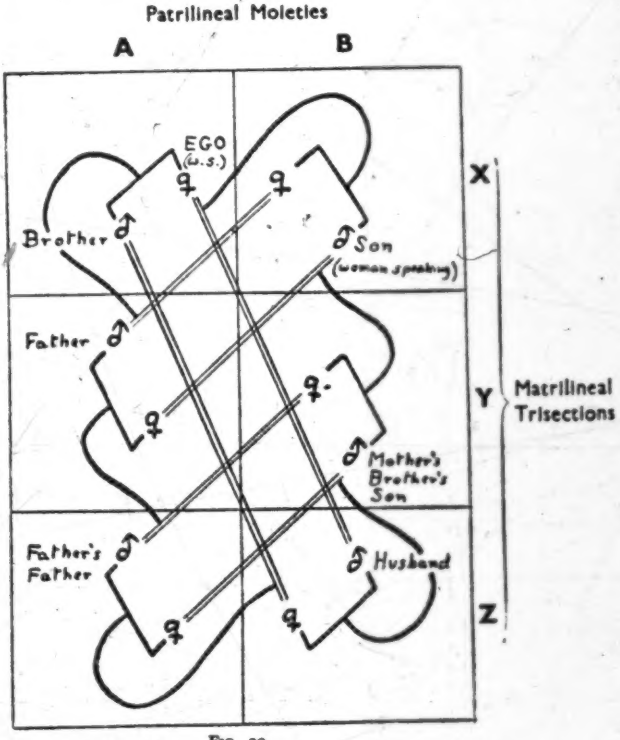

FIG. 32
Kinship diagram illustrating the South Raga Legend of Barkulkul.

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At the same time, a second myth from the same district shows very clearly how, in spite of the asymmetrical division of society into 6 sections, this is still based on a fundamental 4-fold division. This myth [1] tells of a stone called Burto, which is now split, but formerly was not. Two women lived in it. There were also two boys who were twins whose mother threw them away, and they went to live in a cave. Later they both went to take part in a festival. The two women who lived in the stone came there too. The two men became enamoured of the two women, and the two women became enamoured of the two men. After the feast they all went home, the two women into their stone, and the two men into their cave. . . . The two men said to one another, "Let us go and see the two women." So they went, and saw how the two women were always in the stone. Then they split green canes into four sections, like arrows,[2] and struck the stone, singing:

"The song sings, the song cries,
The song cries, let her be my wife,
The woman who is there,
The two women, they two
Who are in the sacred stone,
Who sit inside,
Who live in the stone,
The song cries, let both women come outside."

The stone called Burto opened. The two men looked inside, but saw nothing. They struck the stone again, singing the same song. The stone opened in another place. They peered through the opening, but saw nothing. They struck again, singing the same song. . . . They struck six times, still seeing nothing, but the sixth time the stone opened, and they saw the two women in this hole, a small hole on the side facing the bush.

The two men married the two women, and they all came back to the cave.

This myth demonstrates in the clearest way the fundamental importance of the four original sections out of which the 6-section system has developed, as well as the principle of complementary opposites on which the 4-section system is founded. Stone and cave represent the two principles of male and female descent. The two women live in the male element (the stone) and the two men in the female element (the cave). The two women and the two men represent the fundamental matrilineal and patrilineal moieties in the 4-section element of the 6-section system, which is again symbolised by the splitting of the cane into four sections.[3]

[1] Tattevin, 2, 1931, pp. 863-4.
[2] Arrows are frequently used in marriage rites as a symbol of male sexuality.
[3] For the importance of the number 4 in magic and its connexion with the 4-section element in the kinship system, see p. 647.

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The six sections are referred to only in a secondary way in the account of how they struck the stone six times before it was opened.

FORMULATION OF A 12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH MATRILINEAL TRISECTIONS

Returning now to the Vao system, this 6-section formulation, however, omits one highly important fact, namely that, despite the presence of matrilineal trisections causing the equivalence between a man and his FFF and SSS leading all these to call one another "brother," there still exists at the same time the organisation into "lines" which cause a man for ritual purposes to be identified with his FF and SS. These "lines" are due, as we have seen, to the action of the original unsplit matrilineal moieties, which are thus seen to persist despite the secondary division into matrilineal trisections.

These moieties form the basis of the kinship systems throughout the Small Islands, North Ambrim and the whole of the Northern New Hebrides. Their inclusion as a fundamental feature of life on Vao leads to the final formulation of a 12-section system of a type hitherto unrecorded, formed by the simultaneous operation of matrilineal moieties *and* matrilineal trisections which together form six matrilineal descent groups, each sub-divided into two through the action of the patrilineal moieties.

Such a system is capable of being presented in a great number of ways, each emphasising various aspects. I will therefore follow the plan adopted for other class systems in giving first the structural representation seen in Fig. 33.

This diagram is a repetition of Fig. 32 twice over, to include both sets of moieties, the matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B as well as the matrilineal trisections X, Y and Z. The native kinship terminology is not inserted (this will be given in full in Fig. 34), but letters representing English equivalents indicate certain outstanding features of the system.

It will be seen that, according to this final formulation based on the terminology of kinship, the reason for the apparently opposing claims of the second and third generations in the direct male line to equivalence with EGO is clearly shown. For, while the FF and FFF are both found to be in patrilineal moiety A, they are at the same time separated respectively into matrilineal moieties 1 and 2. The same holds of the SS and SSS. In this way it is seen how the equivalence of alternate generations in the male line is due to the action of the matrilineal moieties, EGO, FF and SS all being found under matrilineal moiety 1, and EGO's F and S under matrilineal moiety 2; while the equivalence between EGO

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and his FFF and SSS causing these to be referred to as "elder and younger brother" is due to their common membership of matrilineal trisection X.

It will be noted further that the form of marriage resulting from such a system is still such that the prescribed bride is equivalent in the matri-

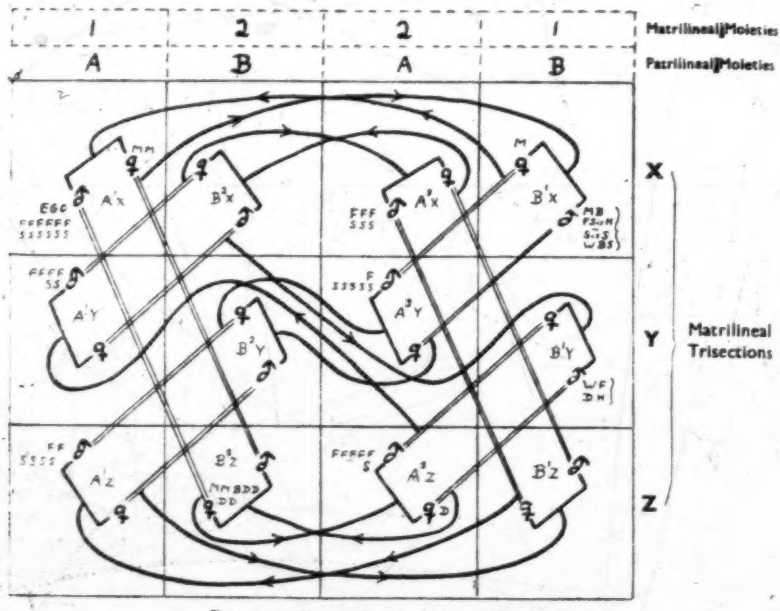

FIG. 33. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE).

Formed on a 4-section basis consisting of matrilineal moieties 1, 2, and patrilineal moieties A, B, to which are added the matrilineal trisections X, Y, Z, giving rise to six matrilineal descent groups. The whole system repeats itself every six generations in the male line of descent. ♂=MMBDD; FFFSisSSD; DD.

lineal line to the MMBDD as in an 8-section system, and is thus a second cross-cousin in the direct female line, and so also to the DD, thus maintaining the affinity with North Raga. In the direct male line, however, a new equivalence is set up, namely that with the FFFSisSSD, or third cross-cousin on the male side.

The third feature arising from the interaction of matrilineal moieties

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with the matrilineal trisections is the formation of six matrilineal descent groups each sub-divided by the two patrilineal moieties, namely:

A^1X — B^1X
B^2X — A^2X
A^1Y — B^1Y
B^2Y — A^2Y
A^1Z — B^1Z
B^2Z — A^2Z

with the result that the whole system repeats itself every six generations with the final equivalence of EGO with his FFFFFF and SSSSSS who are the nearest two relatives in the male line of descent to belong *both* to his matrilineal moiety *and* to his matrilineal trisection. In this respect also this system agrees with that of North Raga, of which Mrs. Seligman points out that "in the direct male line a man comes back to his own group after six generations." [1]

Fig. 34 represents the same 12-section formulation in terms of circular technique. The four bands represent the basic 4-section element in the system formed of the two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and the two patrilineal moieties A and B, which, operating together, produce the four sections A^1, A^2, B^1 and B^2. Radial lines crossing these four sections divide the three matrilineal trisections X, Y and Z. Each arc represents one of the twelve marriage sections.

For the sake of clarity I have repeated this diagram twice, Fig. 34 emphasising matrilineal descent, and Fig. 35 the patrilineal. In Fig. 34, therefore, the two matrilineal moieties (A^1—B^1 and A^2—B^2) are picked out by different types of shading. In the same way the two matrilineal moieties in each trisection are distinguished by the fact that the marriage and descent lines of one are drawn thus — and of the other thus ---. Thus EGO's own matrilineal descent line runs from A^1X to B^1X and then back to A^1X, moving from one matrilineal moiety to the other without leaving its own matrilineal trisection. The six matrilineal descent lines are thus easily distinguishable. All kinship terms that I recorded are inserted inside the figure, and repeated outside it with letters indicating their English equivalents.

Fig. 35 shows precisely the same formulation as Fig. 34, but the shading and the use of continuous and broken lines indicating marriage and descent are in this case employed to emphasise patrilineal descent. Thus one type of shading is used for patrilineal moiety A and another for patrilineal moiety B, each of which is yet further sub-divided by the two matrilineal moieties 1 and 2, so that A^1 and A^2 together represent one patrilineal moiety, and B^1 and B^2 the other. In this way EGO, his FF and

[1] Seligman, Brenda, 2, p. 548. This does not mean that the two systems are identical. There are in fact considerable differences, but their close similarity in this and other respects is very marked.

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617 SS, all of whom belong to the same patrilineal *and* matrilineal moiety, are all found in the outer band A^1, but his F; S; FFF and SSS belonging to the opposite section of the same patrilineal moiety are all found in the inner band A^2. Patrilineal moiety B is similarly divided.

If we continue to trace these lines of descent we find that, in contrast to the six matrilineal descent lines seen in Fig. 34, there are here only two patrilineal descent lines representing the two patrilineal moieties, each repeating itself every six generations. Thus:

EGO is A^1X.

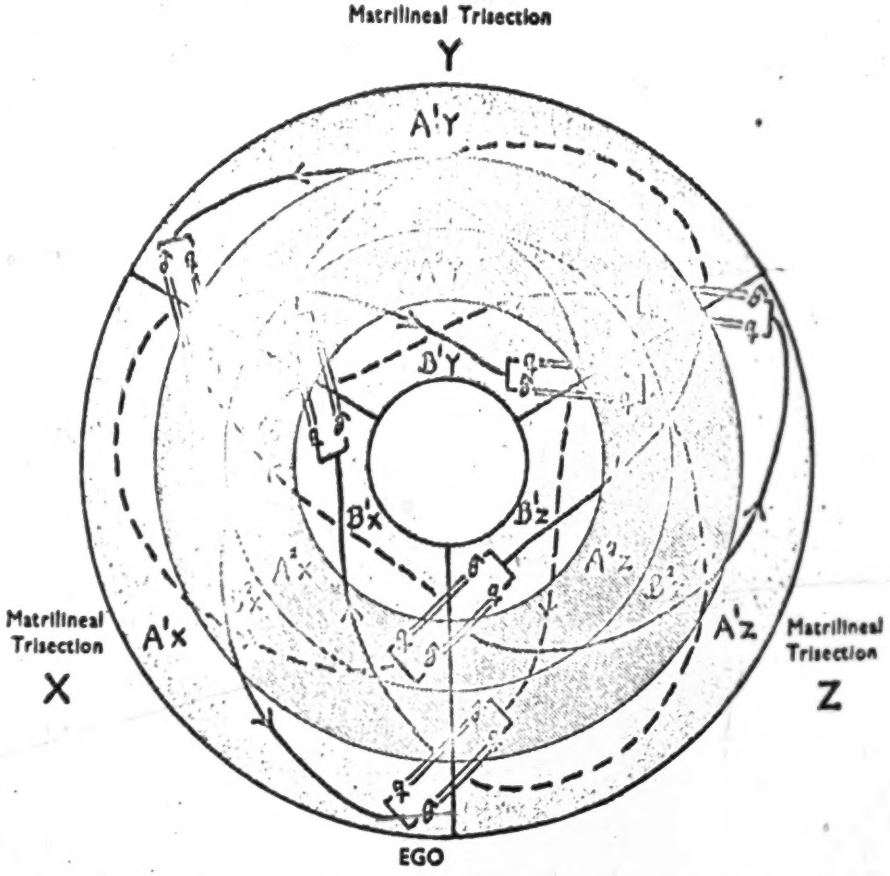

FIG. 34. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE), CIRCULAR DIAGRAM, SHADED TO EMPHASISE MATRILINEAL MOIETIES.

(See legend on opposite page.)

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EGO's son (A^2Z), while belonging to the same patrilineal moiety, is of the opposite marriage section or "line" of that moiety, and at the same time in another matrilineal trisection.

EGO's SS (A^1Y), while in yet another matrilineal trisection, returns to EGO's "line."

X	Y	Z
A^1X	A^1Y	A^1Z
♂ EGO Toghok. sB Tohik. yB (w.s. Hogutuk. s and yB)	♂ Mambik. SS	♂ Tumbuk. FF
♀ Hogutuk. s and ySis (w.s. Toghok. sB) (w.s. Tohik. yB)	♀ Mambik. SD Palegan natuk. SWM Natuk tumbun. DHM	♀ (not recorded)
A^2X	A^2Y	A^2Z
♂ Toghok. FFF Tohik. SSS	♂ Tamok. F, FB, MBisH (w.s. Palegak. DH)	♂ Nasak. S, SS
♀ (not recorded)	♀ Tinak. FSis, MBW (w.s. Vinguk. SW)	♀ Nesak. D, SD Palegak. WM (w.s. Tumbuk. HM)
B^1X	B^1Y	B^1Z
♂ Saguk. MB, FBisH, SisS, WBS (w.s. Natuk. S)	♂ Palegak. WF, DH (w.s. Tumbuk. HF)	♂ ♀ (not recorded)
♀ Tingk. M, MBis, FBW (w.s. Natuk. D)	♀ Vinguk. SW	
B^2X	B^2Y	B^2Z
♂ Palegan natuk. SWF Natuk tumbun. DHF	♂ Sagon tete. FSisS Natun saguk. MBS	♂ Tabuk. WB, SisH Tumbuk. HF Mambik. DS
♀ (not recorded)	♀ Tumbuk. FM Natun Saguk. MBD	♀ Vavine natuk. W Mambik. DD (Toghok. sBW) (Tohik. yBW) (w.s. Ravak. MSis)

FIG. 34. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE), CIRCULAR DIAGRAM, SHADED TO EMPHASISE MATRILINEAL MOIETIES.

The shaded bands represent the matrilineal moieties 1, 2, each of which is sub-divided into two owing to the action of the patrilineal moieties A, B. The radial lines divide the matrilineal trisections X, Y, Z. Each of the twelve arcs represents a marriage section. The two matrilineal descent lines within each matrilineal trisection are emphasised by the fact that one is indicated thus ——— and the other thus — — —. It will be noted that each such descent line remains both within its own trisection and within its own matrilineal moiety. The element binding the six matrilineal descent lines together is that of the patrilineal moieties, emphasised in Fig. 35. All Vao kinship terms which have been recorded are listed above, together with letters representing their English equivalents, under the headings A^1X, etc., corresponding to those found in each section of the figure.

N.B.—If the whole figure could be rolled in the shape of a quoit, A^1 and B^1 would be contiguous in the same way as A^2 and B^2.

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EGO's SSS (A^2X) returns to EGO's own matrilineal trisection, thus ranking as a "younger brother," but to a different "line" in EGO's patrilineal moiety.

EGO's SSSS (A^1Z) belongs to the same matrilineal trisection as EGO's son, but to the opposite "line."

EGO's SSSSS (A^2Y) belongs to the same matrilineal trisection as EGO's SS, but to the opposite "line."

Finally, EGO's SSSSSS (A^1X) "comes back" in the sixth generation, into the same matrilineal trisection *and* into the same "line," i.e. the same matrilineal moiety, as EGO.

All these individuals belong to the same patrilineal moiety. Ascending generations in the same moiety may be traced in reverse order. Thus:

FFFFFF	= EGO	(A^1X)
FFFFF	= S	(A^2Z)
FFFF	= SS	(A^1Y)
FFF	= SSS	(A^2X)
FF	= SSSS	(A^1Z)
F	= SSSSS	(A^2Y)
EGO	= SSSSSS	(A^1X)

The ancestry or descent of any man in the opposite patrilineal moiety, for example that of EGO's mother's brother (B^1X), may be similarly traced by following the broken line, till they coincide again in the sixth ascending and descending generation, thus:

MFFFFFF	= MB	(B^1X)
MFFFFF	= MBS	(B^2Y)
MFFFF	= MBSS	(B^1Z)
MFFF	= MBSSS	(B^2X)
MFF	= MBSSSS	(B^1Y)
MF	= MBSSSSS	(B^2Z)
MB	= MBSSSSSS	(B^1X)

This is, of course, a theoretical presentation of the case. The natives themselves do not possess kinship terms beyond the third ascending and descending generation, as we have seen from the existence of the term *verik* (see p. 132).

EVIDENCE FOR THE FORMER EXISTENCE OF MATRILINEAL 12-SECTION SYSTEMS IN OTHER PARTS OF MELANESIA

It is, however, not without interest to consider what evidence there is for the former existence of 12-section systems in the overtly matrilineal islands further north. In the first place, Deacon points out at considerable length that the most ancient form of social organisation in this part of Melanesia was the division into "two moieties with six marriage sections and matrilineal descent." [1] It needs no great amount

[1] Deacon, 4, p. 701.

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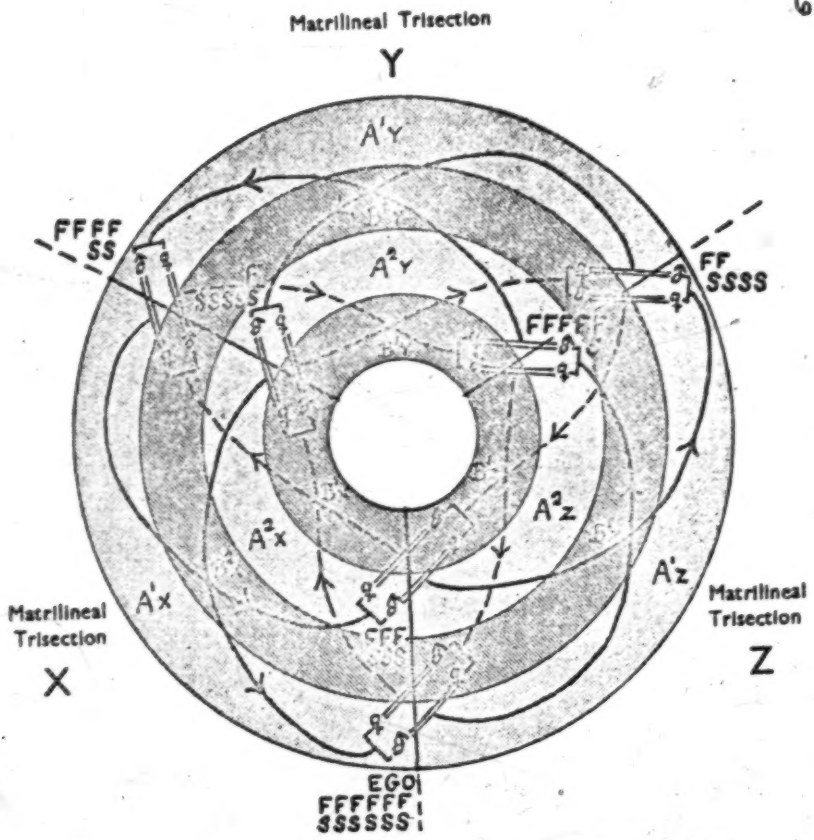

FIG. 35. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (MATRILINEAL TYPE), CIRCULAR DIAGRAM, SHADED TO EMPHASISE PATRILINEAL MOIETIES.

This diagram is identical with Fig. 34, but is shaded to emphasise the patrilineal moieties A, B, each of which is sub-divided by the action of matrilineal moieties 1, 2, and crossed by the matrilineal trisections X, Y, Z. Continuous and broken lines respectively further emphasise descent in the two patrilineal moieties, each line alternating between the two matrilineal moieties and including in its course each of the three matrilineal trisections. Thus, EGO is equivalent to his FF and SS by virtue of the matrilineal moieties, causing the division into "lines," and to his FFF and SSS by virtue of the matrilineal trisections, causing these three relatives to address one another as "elder and younger brother." The system completes itself when both these equivalences coincide, causing each male line of descent to repeat itself every six generations, resulting in the total equivalence of a man with his FFFFFF and SSSSSS.

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of consideration, however, to realise that no sectional system can exist with matrilineal descent only. Even in overtly matrilineal areas some patrilineal descent must exist, and the minimum of such descent necessary to bind any system together is that of patrilineal moieties. This is, as we have seen, precisely what is indicated in the kinship system outlined above, and it is thus clear that for the words "six marriage sections with matrilineal descent" should be substituted "six matrilineal descent groups" such as exist in this formulation, with patrilineal moieties binding these six groups into a 12-section system.

Evidence for the former existence of such systems is at hand from many parts of Melanesia. Thus, from the Solomon Islands, Rivers reports six matrilineal clans in Guadalcanar,[1] and Codrington recorded six in the neighbouring island of Florida,[2] though later Rivers could find only four.[3] Codrington also records the foundation of twelve villages in the district of Florida by a man fleeing from the island of Ysabel immediately to the north, and of twelve shrines in the same district.[4] Rivers further reports that in the district of Kia at the north-western end of Ysabel there are three main matrilineal groups, each of which is yet further divided, one into six, one into nine, and yet another into twelve.[5]

Coming nearer to Vao, Rivers states that the two matrilineal moieties in Mota are further sub-divided respectively into six and seven subdivisions (the seventh is probably extraneous), thus making almost certainly an original total of twelve sections,[6] and probably accounting for the twelve brothers of Banks Islands mythology, of whom the best-known is Kwat.[7]

Evidence of the formation of three matrilineal descent groups by the division of one of two moieties into two, and that such groups are capable of yet further sub-division, is forthcoming from the neighbouring Torres Islands, where the place of the matrilineal moieties found in the Banks Islands is taken by three matrilineal descent groups called Temar, Gameljat and Gameltemata, suggesting, as Rivers observes, that the Gameltemata "may have split off from the Gameljat, and thus produced a threefold division."[8] Furthermore, while Temar and Gameljat each have four sub-divisions, Gameltemata has only two, so that Gameljat and Gameltemata, having together six sub-divisions, stand to one another in precisely the same relation as that in which the Vao village of Pete-hul with four Quarters stands to Togh-vanu with two.

These examples are but a few out of many, and indicate the former existence of sectional systems based on matrilineal moieties and trisections in many parts of Melanesia. Most of these systems have now

[1] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 243.
[2] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 241.
[3] Codrington, 3, p. 30.
[4] Codrington, 3, pp. 94-5 (note).
[5] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 245-6.
[6] Rivers, 1, vol. I, pp. 23, 98.
[7] See p. 209.
[8] Rivers, 1, vol. I, p. 177.

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broken down owing to later influences, such as the custom of marriage with the mother's brother's widow. As reference to any kinship diagram in this and the foregoing chapter will show, this relative belongs to the same patrilineal moiety as EGO. This form of marriage thus automatically destroys any class system, but nevertheless leaves the matrilineal descent groups intact. Thus, for example, in the Banks Islands, where this form of marriage takes place, the matrilineal clans have survived but the sections have disappeared.

We have seen how, in South-West Ambrim, a different influence is at work, namely the ever-increasing emphasis on the importance of patrilineal descent. In South and West Malekula both influences seem to have combined to bring about the complete collapse of all sectional systems. Nevertheless elements of the former terminology persist, as seen in the fact that in the districts of Mewun and Lambumbu, for example, the FFF is still called "elder brother" despite the custom of marriage with the MBW and the apparent complete disruption of matrilineal clans.[1]

MATRILINEAL 12-SECTION SYSTEM DURING THE CHOU PERIOD IN CHINA

Lest it be thought that the 12-section system from which it is suggested that these clan systems have been derived represents only a theoretical scheme that in practice would be too unwieldy to work, it is interesting to note in passing that there is evidence of a similar 12-section system having flourished in the Chou period of China, between about 1000 and 300 B.C.

This evidence is derived from the *Êrh Ya*, a glossary dating from about the third century B.C., with additions in the second century B.C. and perhaps later, which contains a chapter in explanation of kinship terms used in writing from an earlier age. This chapter has been translated by Mr. Arthur Waley, who kindly called my attention to it and sent me a copy. There is no space here to analyse the whole system from the large number of kinship terms given. I will therefore confine myself to calling attention to two groups of facts only, namely:

(*a*) The 4-section element on which the whole system is built up as seen in the terms applied to close relatives in Fig. 36. Some of these terms are very expressive, such as those used by a woman for her DHF, whom she calls *yin*, meaning "draw near," and for her BSCh, whom she calls "returned (*kuei*) grandchildren," both these terms clearly

[1] Deacon, 4, pp. 92, 99. In Seniang, on the other hand (p. 77), it is the FFFF who is called "elder brother," which would be the logical result of a hitherto unrecorded type of 8-section system formed of two patrilineal and four matrilineal descent groups which, if it ever existed, has now collapsed for the same reasons.

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617 referring to the fact that these relatives belong (i.e. "draw near" or "return") to her own kinship section.

171 (*b*) A long list of descriptive terms applied to relatives in the direct male line up to the fourth ascending generation (FFFF) and down to the eighth descending generation (SSSSSSSS), in which the FFF and SSS are called respectively *tsêng tsao*, meaning "double grandfather," and *tsêng sun*, meaning "double grandson," and male members of the sixth

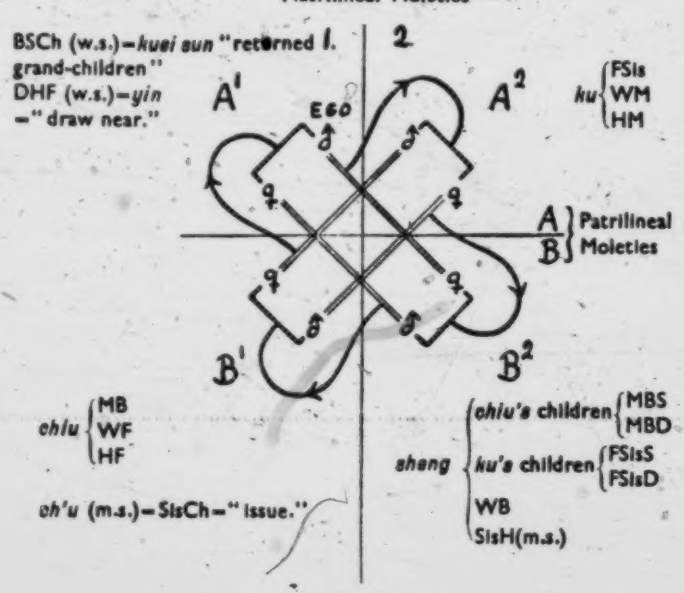

FIG. 36

descending generation (SSSSSS) are called *k'un sun*, meaning "elder brother grandson." Why this relative should be called "elder" instead of "younger" I do not know, unless this be a term of respect. Examination of Fig. 35, however, will show how these three terms describe exactly the position of these relatives in a 12-section system with six matrilineal descent groups. Thus the FFF and SSS both "double" EGO by returning to his own matrilineal trisection. These relatives are not, however, fully equivalent to him, owing to their membership of the opposite matrilineal moiety. Full equivalence with EGO is not reached till the sixth descending generation, and it is clearly for this reason that in this Chinese system it is the SSSSSS who is called "brother." Any

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doubt as to the essential correctness of this interpretation is, I think, dispelled by the name given to the seventh descending generation (SSSSSSS), who is called *yéng sun*, which Mr. Waley translates as "repeat grandson." This phrase agrees so precisely with the fact that, as we have seen, a 12-section system repeats itself after each sixth generation that, since Mr. Waley had made his translation without any knowledge of the facts now being presented, I wrote telling him of my interpretation and asking for more information. He replied, "The word *yéng* does indeed mean 'the same thing over again,' 'as you were' and the like. It is used on the Analects of Confucius when they are discussing whether to rebuild the State treasury on a new plan, or to 'keep it as it was before.' It is defined as 'same as at the start.'" [1]

3

FORMULATION OF THE EXISTING PATRILOCAL ORGANISATION ON VAO

TRANSITION TO OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

I have mentioned this ancient Chinese system not only as providing a parallel with the system deduced from the kinship terminology on Vao, but for a second reason also, namely as evidence for the transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. For at the present day but little remains of the matrilineal element in China, where descent is now reckoned almost exclusively on a patrilineal basis, though a relic of the matrilineal moieties is still found in the practice of recording the names of ancestors in the direct male line on tablets arranged in two columns, each column containing the names of alternating generations corresponding to the "lines" composed of alternate generations in the male line of descent caused by the matrilineal moieties on Vao.

The same process has been at work in North Ambrim, which, as Deacon points out, is in a "transition stage to patrilineal descent." [2] Just how this transformation from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections has taken place is not explained. Nor am I able to explain through direct evidence the similar process that appears to have taken place on

[1] The above brief reference represents only one aspect of this ancient system, of which some of the kinship terms show signs also of a division into 8 sections, from which the 12 sections have probably been derived owing to the usual bisection of inferior moieties. An analysis of these terms was made by the author some years ago but has not been published, and it was therefore with interest that his attention was called, after the above passage was already in print, to a work recently published by Marcel Granet entitled *Catégories Matrimoniales et Relations de Proximité dans la Chine Ancienne* (Annales Sociologiques, Series B, Paris, 1939), in which he also demonstrates the 8-section basis of this system while pointing out certain differences between it and the 8-section systems of Australia.

[2] Deacon. 4. p. 701.

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division into the two matrilineal moieties existing within the Quarter-Lodge.[1]

(c) That a man sometimes marries his deceased father's father's widow, since EGO and his FF belong to the same marriage section.

12-SECTION SYSTEM WITH OVERT PATRILINEAL DESCENT

While Fig. 38 may be taken to indicate the basic factors leading to the social organisation of the Superior Side of Vao, it must not, however, be taken as expressing the kinship system existing in it today, since, as has already been shown, this Side of the Island does not stand alone, but forms part of a larger organisation including the whole island. For, while this Side of the Island is in fact composed of three main patrilineal descent groups represented respectively by the descendants of Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru forming the population of Pete-hul, and of those split-off descendants of To-rom-bambaru who founded the offshoot village of Togh-vanu, these three descent groups do not now intermarry, but form one exogamous whole.

If we now turn our attention to the organisation of the entire island, we find once more the same pattern of culture in the division into two Sides of the Island, one of which has split, thus forming three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three double-villages, each of which is divided into two single-villages (see Fig. 4). The difference between the two patterns is that in this case the three patrilineal descent groups represented by the three patrilocal double-villages are exogamous.

Combined with the two matrilineal moieties, this pattern results once more in a 12-section system similar to that illustrated in Figs. 33, 34 and 35 in that it is based on four sections consisting of matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 and patrilineal moieties A and B, but differing from it in that the trisections are patrilineal, thus forming six patrilineal descent groups which actually exist in the form of the six patrilocal villages, in place of the earlier six matrilineal descent groups deduced from the terminology of kinship.

Fig. 39 represents this patrilocal system in terms of kinship, and at the same time indicates the presumed relative functions of the three double-villages. It will be seen that the form of marriage it indicates is that of a man with a woman who in the direct female line of descent is his MMMBDDD, or third cross-cousin, and in the direct male line is his FFSisSD, or second cross-cousin. This is of interest in that the FFSisSD is (through the equivalence of the FSisH with the MB) also the FMBSD, who is in fact the prescribed bride in the existing system of Pornowol in South Raga, where, according to Tattevin, a man "takes his wife from his father's mother's [patrilineal] clan," the bride being the daughter of

[1] For further discussion of this point, see p. 168.

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617 the father's "first cousin" within that clan.[1] She also at the same time belongs to the same marriage section as the FFW, thus fulfilling the Vao statement that a man sometimes marries his father's father's widow.

Whether this form of marriage with the FMBSD actually exists on Vao I have at this distance no means of finding out.[2] The fact that it exists in South Raga, however, lends considerable support to the whole formulation here put forward, which at the same time explains so many hitherto obscure features in the organisation of the island that I propose to use it as a working formula, of which further field-work would be required to test out the details but the approximate correctness of which is at least strongly supported by the following facts.

CO-EXISTENCE OF PATRILINEAL MOIETIES AND TRISECTIONS ILLUSTRATED BY VAO SOCIAL ORGANISATION

In the first place, it explains the mechanism of the apparent paradox by means of which moieties can be split into trisections, but at the same time remain intact. It has already been shown in Fig. 26 how, of the

[1] Tattevin, 1, 1926, pp. 375-6. What appears to have been the former 6-section system with matrilineal descent as seen in the mythology of this area has already been referred to on pp. 140 ff. In contrast, however, to North Raga, where overt descent is still matrilineal, South Raga has adopted the system of overt patrilineal descent from its more southerly neighbours. The result is that the existing organisation of Pornowol, as described by Tattevin, now consists of six patrilineal clans (as it does also on Vao), and though he denies the simultaneous operation of matrilineal descent within the system, this is implicit in a number of facts that he records, most notable of which is a passage in which he quotes a native as saying: "We are also divided into two moieties, in such a way that a father and his grandson are of the same moiety, and may joke with one another. But joking is forbidden between individuals belonging to opposite moieties; for example, a father can never joke with his own son" (Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 384). This is, of course, a well-known prohibition between members of opposing matrilineal moieties throughout the whole of the Northern New Hebrides and Banks Islands, and, as I have pointed out, these moieties are both in Ambrim and the Small Islands represented by "lines" composed of alternate generations in the male line. Tattevin himself later mentions the same prohibition against joking between members of opposing matrilineal moieties on the west coast of Raga (ibid. 1, 1927, p. 578). There can thus be little doubt that these moieties exist also in Pornowol, where, though the kinship terminology as recorded by Tattevin appears to indicate certain archaic features, it is difficult to see how the six patrilineal clans combined with the matrilineal moieties could avoid leading to a 12-section system with patrilineal descent similar in essentials to that now indicated by the existing organisation on Vao (see p. 724, footnote 1). It must be pointed out, however, that marriage with the FMBSD is theoretically possible in any class system with intact matrilineal moieties, though it is unlikely that the relationship would be traced in such a roundabout way in any system containing less than twelve sections. It is not possible in any system including matrilineal trisections.

[2] It will be noted that the MBSD is the prescribed bride in a 6-section system with matrilineal trisections (see p. 139 and Fig. 31), so that in marrying the FMBSD a man would be marrying the woman who in that system would be married by his father.

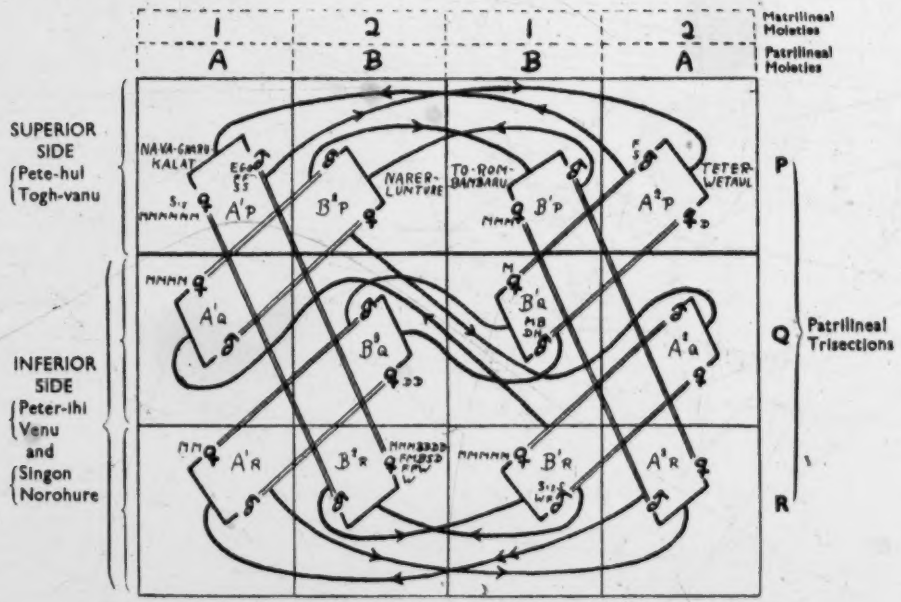

FIG. 39. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (PATRILINEAL TYPE) ILLUSTRATING THE MAIN ELEMENTS IN THE EXISTING SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF VAO.

While similar to Fig. 33 in that it is founded on a 4-section element with matrilineal moieties 1, 2, and patrilineal moieties A, B, it differs from it in that the trisections P, Q, R are patrilineal (and not matrilineal as in that figure), corresponding with the existing patrilocal organisation. Each trisection includes one double-village, one (P), namely Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, on the Superior Side of the Island, and two (Q, R) on the Inferior Side. The two double-villages on the Inferior Side are not individually allocated, since the evidence is not sufficient to show to which trisection each of these belongs. Each trisection contains two patrilineal descent lines corresponding to the two component patrilocal villages within each double-village. Each of these patrilineal descent lines passes in alternating generations from one matrilineal moiety to the other, thus forming two marriage sections, known in pidgin-English as "lines," in each single-village. There are thus two marriage sections in each single-village, 4 in each double-village, and 12 in the entire system which once probably embraced most of the Small Islands and the adjacent Malekulan mainland. ♂=MMMBDDD; FMBSD; FFW.

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617 two patrilineal moieties A, B, in a 4-section system, the inferior moiety B becomes split, thus forming three patrilineal trisections, A, B and C. The same pattern is repeated in Fig. 38 representing the split between Pete-hul and Togh-vanu, in which the same lettering is used in the interior of the figure but, for the purposes of this demonstration, these same trisections A, B and C are also labelled P, Q and R.

If we now look at Fig. 39 we find these same trisections P, Q and R (corresponding to A, B and C) each representing a double-village, of which P (derived from A) represents the intact patrilineal moiety represented by the Superior Side of the Island with one double-village Pete-hul–Togh-vanu, and Q, R (corresponding with B and C) the split patrilineal moiety represented by the Inferior Side of the Island with two double-villages. At the same time, however, co-existing with these are the two still unsplit patrilineal moieties A and B represented by the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru causing the bisection of each double-village into two single-villages, each of which traces its ancestry back to one of two brothers representing the two patrilineal sub-moieties within the double-village. Each of these sub-moieties is yet further bisected by the action of the matrilineal moieties 1 and 2 in such a way as to produce the "lines" consisting of alternate generations in the male line of descent.

This feature is clearly illustrated in the case of the Superior Side of the Island by the inclusion in it of two patrilineal descent groups together forming the one double-village on this Side of the Island, namely:

(*a*) Patrilineal moiety A representing the parent village of Pete-hul founded by Na-va-gharu-kalat (A^1) together with his partner Teter-wetaul representing the opposite "line" or matrilineal moiety (A^2) in the same village.

(*b*) Patrilineal moiety B representing the offshoot village of Togh-vanu founded by To-rom-bambaru (B^1) together with his partner Narer-lumture representing the opposite "line" or matrilineal moiety (B^2) in that village.[1]

The same pattern is found in the remaining trisections Q and R representing the two double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island. It will be noted that each of the twelve "lines" so formed represents a marriage section. Fig. 40 represents the same system in terms of circular technique. Owing to lack of evidence at the moment it is impossible to say which of

[1] It will be noted that in this formulation of the kinship system To-rom-bambaru falls into the same marriage section as Na-va-gharu-kalat's MMM and SisDDD, thus supporting the evidence put forward below (p. 164) that this system is in fact derived from the former 12-section system with matrilineal trisections deduced from the kinship terminology, and that it took three generations, accompanied by much fighting, for the necessary adjustments to be made.

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the two trisections Q and R corresponds to which of the two double-villages, though on theoretical grounds it is probable that Q represents Peter-ihi–Venu and R represents Singon–Norohure. That the uncertainty is not only a theoretical one but also actual is shown by the fact that not only on Vao have these two double-villages already begun to

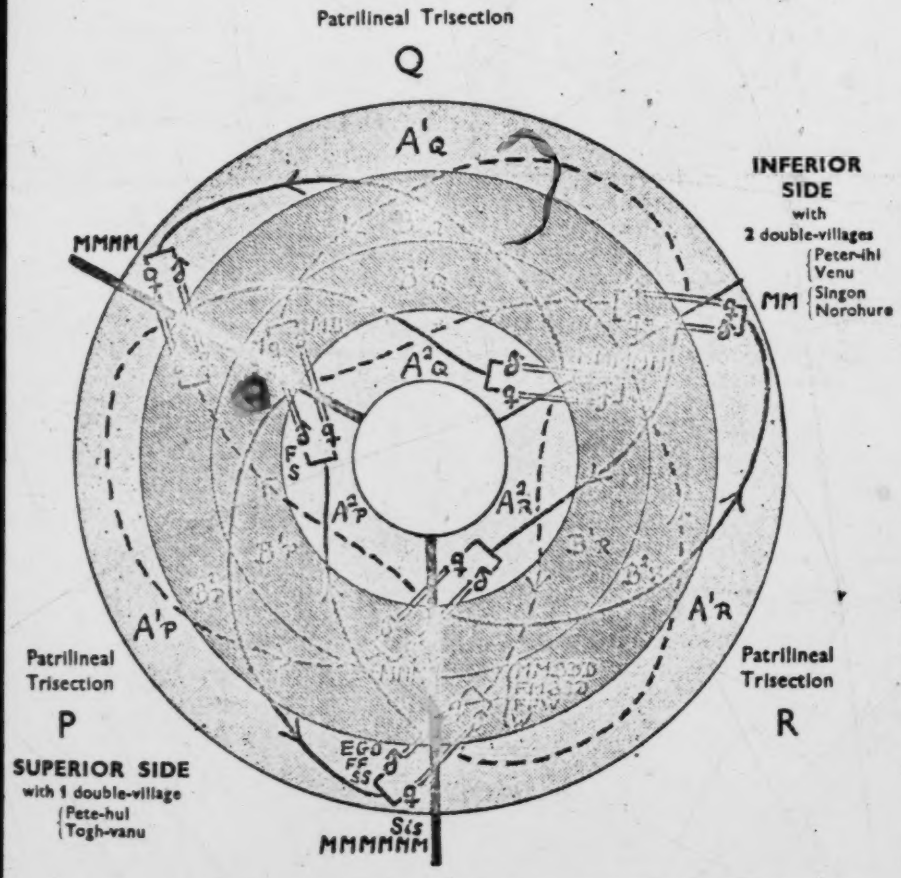

FIG. 40. 12-SECTION SYSTEM (PATRILINEAL TYPE) IN TERMS OF CIRCULAR TECHNIQUE, SHADED TO EMPHASISE PATRILINEAL DESCENT.

The shaded bands represent the patrilineal moieties A, B, and the two patrilineal descent lines within each double-village are emphasised by the fact that one is drawn in with continuous lines and the other with broken lines.

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split up into four independent exogamous communities, but that on Atchin this process is already complete, the four corresponding villages on the Inferior Side of that Island being no longer linked in exogamous pairs, the only remaining double-village there being that of Ruruar on the Superior Side.[1]

MARRIAGES BETWEEN SPECIFIED VILLAGES

A further feature shown in this formulation is the fact that marriages take place between specified villages. Thus, A^1 (EGO) and his sister, both belonging to trisection P representing the double-village of Pete-hul-Togh-vanu, both marry members of their father's mother's trisection R representing one of the double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island, as also do B^1 and *his* sister. In the same way, A^2 and B^2 belonging to the opposite matrilineal moiety both marry members of their respective fathers' mothers' trisection Q representing the other double-village on that Side of the Island. This corresponds to the South Raga system of a man marrying into his father's mother's patrilocal clan.

The same feature of the kinship system doubtless explains the many indications of special marriage bonds existing between specified villages that I met with in the course of my work in the Small Islands. These special bonds extend, moreover, beyond the confines of a single Small Island to include villages not only on other islands but also on the adjacent Malekulan mainland. One such bond has already been mentioned on p. 59 in respect of the close kinship ties formerly existing between the inhabitants of Lavame and the mainland village of Le-huru.[2] It is thus clear that any scheme advanced to explain the kinship system of Vao must at one time at least have extended over a much wider area, so that, while the trisections P, Q and R must be taken to include the three double-villages on that island, they may also very well include, or have included, villages similarly organised in other islands and on the mainland of Malekula. Such were undoubtedly the two mainland units already mentioned forming the double-village of Lawor and Bot-walim[3] from which the whole of the modern Maki is said to have spread to the Small Islands. Genealogical evidence for the existence of such marriage bonds between neighbouring communities is in fact at hand in the family tree of my Tolamp informant Ma-taru (Table X), in which the recorded marriages of his father's father, his father, his father's brothers, himself and

[1] See p. 56.

[2] Compare also Corlette (1, p. 478), who, speaking of Malekula as a whole, says, "in some districts certain groups intermarry by custom," though adding "but this is not a rule even there."

[3] See pp. 15, 39.

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all his classificatory brothers and sisters (with one exception)[1] show that they all married members of the double-village of Pete-hul-Togh-vanu in which the remnants of his clan have now taken refuge.[2]

4

HISTORICAL SURVEY

RELATIVE FUNCTIONS OF MYTH AND HISTORY

Having reached this approximate formulation of the Vao system, I propose now to make a final examination of the story of origin. For, while the co-existence of the trisections with the fundamental 4-section element in the system is clear, it is to be noted that no hint of these trisections is given in the creation myth dealing with the split *memel* fruit caused by the direct action of Ta-ghar.

In this respect the Vao myth resembles two very interesting examples recorded by Suas from the village of Logueguea on Oba. These myths also attribute the creation to Takaro, who is equivalent to the Vao Ta-ghar. The method is different, namely by means of modelling human figures with clay, but the import is the same, since the first myth accounts for the creation of the two matrilineal moieties, and the second for the creation of four groups, named after the four colours black, red, yellow and white, each of which is allotted to a specific area of land.[3]

The omission of any mention of trisections in all these cases expresses an important difference between myth and history, if we take myth as giving expression to those factors that are so taken for granted that there is no need to explain them, and historical accounts as being designed to emphasise change. Thus the Vao myth of the *memel* fruit splitting into two and so forming the two primary matrilineal moieties needs no circumstantial corroboration, since the facts referred to are, in the opinion of the natives, so basic as to need no further explanation.

What do need explanation from the Vao native's point of view are the further developments. First among these is the appearance of the overt patrilineal moieties represented respectively by their alleged founders, the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru. The next

[1] The one exception is the marriage of Le-ragh-ragh with Marsung-parav of the village of Pwelut on Wala. Several others occur in the succeeding generation.

[2] It will be noted, however, that in this case they all marry members of the same double-village and not, as suggested from Fig. 39, that alternate generations marry into different double-villages.

[3] Suas, pp. 45-8. The two matrilineal moieties are called respectively *Takaro* and *Mweragbuto*, the latter corresponding to the male Guardian Ghost *Supue* on Raga and to *Le-hev-hev* on Vao. A third myth (pp. 48-52) deals with the creation of an unclothed people whose social divisions are not specified.

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figures to appear in the story are the two "shadow brothers," Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, who receive no further comment, their appearance being quite automatic as representing the basic matrilineal moieties still functioning within the new overtly patrilocal organisation. These four brothers together are the founders of the four Quarters of Pete-hul.

The next phase which, in the native view, requires explanation is the further development of the system into an asymmetrical one owing to the bisection of the inferior patrilineal moiety. It is this that, as we have seen, the natives ascribe to the action of "mere man," and therefore the subject of what in his view are definite historical accounts. It is for this reason that the mythical non-circumstantial account of the foundation of the four Quarters is immediately followed by alleged historical accounts relating with some violence the split-up of the original village of Pete-hul into two villages, leaving Pete-hul with four Quarters and Togh-vanu with only two.

It is furthermore important to note that, though To-rŏm-bambaru, the second brother, is now regarded as the ancestor of the inhabitants of the offshoot village Togh-vanu, the actual founder was not he, nor yet his son Peleris, but his son's son Tulul.[1] In other words, whatever the actual mechanism by which this change was brought about, it took three generations to accomplish, these being clearly correlated with the tri-sectional system which takes three generations to fulfil its cycle.[2]

INTRODUCTION OF PATRILOCAL SYSTEM. SIMILAR ORIGIN OF MATANAVAT IN NORTH-EAST MALEKULA

One question that arises from the very circumstantial accounts of this movement, based as they are on the substantially accurate genealogies already given, is to what extent the details are to be taken as historical truths. It is on the one hand quite clear from the comparative evidence already cited that neither the 4-section element nor the trisections came into being as isolated phenomena on Vao. On the other hand, it is evident from genealogies preserved by neighbouring peoples not only in the Small Islands but also in Santo,[3] that considerable movements of peoples occurred at about the time at which the Vao genealogies begin. Since no two peoples have exactly the same kinship system, it is clear that whenever contact is made, their fusion must lead to a violation of the kinship systems of both. Violations of this kind being among the most frequent causes of warfare in Melanesia, it would be expected that fighting of some kind would ensue. This is in fact what the native account

[1] See p. 91.
[2] See also p. 160, footnote 1.
[3] Verbal communication from Mr. T. H. Harrisson.

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claims to have been the case, for it is stated that the fighting accompanying the foundation of the new régime was so bitter that the people of Vao now put down all warfare to this occurrence.

I suggest, therefore, that the reason for this violent social upheaval was the impact between two at first sight incompatible systems of kinship, of which that containing the matrilineal trisections indicated in the kinship terminology was the indigenous one. What the immigrant system consisted of is not easy to say, except that it was almost certainly responsible for the introduction of the existing patrilocal organisation, and probably also for the change over from matrilineal to patrilineal trisections corresponding to the similar change that has occurred in North Ambrim. It may even be that it was these immigrants who introduced the current version of the *memel*-fruit myth. It will be remembered that the inhabitants of Norohure on the Inferior Side of Vao, whom I suppose to represent an earlier matrilineal stratum of the population, "do not know the story of the *memel* fruit." [1] It is thus worth noting that a similar myth told in Matanavat on the North Malekulan coast not far from Vao is in fact definitely attributed to an immigrant people. Thus Harrisson records how this village is divided into three parts, of which two represent two patrilineal moieties but the third part, called Botnia, once populous but no longer so, is somewhat apart. This third section of the population is said to be the oldest, and its members are looked down on by the other inhabitants of the village as "rubbish people," an expression used all over North Malekula to designate those who do such unpatrilineal things as eating sows, and who clearly represent an older matrilineal stock. Thus, "Botnia has no prestige and few rites. There are no Botnia stories. It is simply said of it: that it was always there . . . that there were men there when the first men came! The people were small; they had no canoes, only rafts." The two other parts of the village, however, were formed of the now dominant immigrants who trace their descent from "a succulent fruit" which Harrisson refers to as a rose-apple, and therefore to its descendants as the "rose-apple" people.[2]

The "rose-apple" story is the same in all essentials as the *memel*-fruit myth on Vao, and there is no doubt that the two myths are the same. Moreover, its distribution throughout Santo, Malo, North Malekula, the Small Islands and Epi [3] is almost identical with the area already mentioned in which the genealogies point to movements of people at about the time of Na-va-gharu-kalat. The foundation story following the Matanavat version of the myth tells of a "rose-apple" man named Tora-tora who first had a son who disobeyed and insulted him, thus following the matrilineal pattern of a youth who owes no allegiance to his father. The old man then married a Botnia woman who bore two sons, and

[1] See p. 80.
[2] Harrisson, 2, pp. 20-1.
[3] Harrisson, 1, p. 114.

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these sons founded the two patrilocal divisions of the existing village, of which they became the "chiefs." The account ends with a statement that "it is by the marriage of Tora-tora's sons with Botnia women that Matanavat has grown."

While this story differs in detail from that told on Vao, its essential elements are the same. The correspondence becomes closer still when it is found that the patrilocal division founded by the second son is called *Lembeteram*,[1] which is evidently the same name as that of the *La-mbet-ra* Quarter founded by the second brother To-rom-bambaru on Vao. There is further a close similarity between the organisation of the two places, since each of the two patrilocal moieties in Matanavat is yet further divided into six lodges, making a total of twelve lodges, thus forming a cultural pattern similar to that of the twelve "Sides of the Lodge" on the Superior Side of Vao, and to the twelve "Sides of the Stone" on the whole island.

It is incidentally of interest to note that this organisation is reflected on Matanavat in the custom that on certain occasions six men sound the gongs [2] and that the formula for wind magic is repeated six times.[3] On the other hand, the 4-fold element is also still found there in the case of magic performed for the cure of sickness, during which the clairvoyant appeals to his four spirits: Tokon and Tapi, who are male, and Lelerits and Lesiri who are female. It is said that "such spirits always go in fours." [4] Each of the twelve lodges has, moreover, its own form of magic and "its own month in the year," [5] which throws an interesting sidelight on one of the factors possibly leading to the origin of the twelve signs of the Zodiac.

Leaving these suggestive details on one side, however, and returning to the kinship problem, the point to which I wish to call attention is that in Matanavat, as in Vao, no mention is made in the mythology of the incoming people of the trisections that form an essential element in the existing organisation. From this it would appear that these trisections did not form part of the immigrant culture, but, as we have seen from the kinship terminology, certainly did form part of that of the indigenous population following a system of matrilineal descent, to which the dominant incoming patrilocal element had to adjust itself, in each place doubtless in a slightly different way.

[1] This word apparently means "(Lodge) of the eldest son" (Vao *bete-ram*, see p. 181), and in fact should have belonged to the eldest son. But their father had told both sons to bring him yams of a particular kind. The elder brought the wrong kind, but the younger brought the kind the father had asked for, and so became chief of the Superior patrilocal moiety.

[2] Harrisson, 2, p. 31.

[3] Ibid. p. 50.

[4] Ibid. p. 56. For the connexion between magic and the 4-section system of kinship, see pp. 646 ff.

[5] Ibid. p. 23.

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PROBABLE COURSE OF EVENTS ON VAO

It would appear from the native account on Vao that a party of these immigrants, under the combined leadership of the two brothers Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru, arrived by sea and settled themselves down on what is now the Superior Side of the Island, founding the single-village of Pete-hul, or else reorganising a previously existing village. The beach on which they landed, being the best on the island, must of course have been in constant use by the indigenous population.[1]

Na-va-gharu-kalat's first act was one of aggressive self-assertion, on behalf of all the immigrants, telling them to "keep good watch on the beach Kowu, and, if any stranger come ashore, to kill him and bring him to me to cut up,"[2] evidently for the whole community to eat. This speech, to which his younger brother, representing the second patrilineal moiety, wholeheartedly assented, is said to have been the starting-point from which all subsequent fighting took its origin.

This does not mean, of course, that there had been no fighting before, but that Na-va-gharu-kalat now assumed the headship of Pete-hul, and in virtue of this fact claimed the right of disposing of strangers landing on its beach in accordance with the general New Hebridean practice mentioned later with regard to a similar fate awaiting strangers landing on Raga.[3]

Doubtless, many former friends of the indigenous population would in this way become treated by the immigrants as strangers. The scene of the original conflict leading to the formation of the new patrilocal system was thus localised to begin with in the territory belonging to what is now the double-village forming the Superior Side of the Island.[4]

This social revolution, lasting three generations, must automatically have affected the rest of the island, and we are probably justified, therefore, in assuming that an analogous process was responsible for the formation of the remaining two double-villages on the Inferior Side of the Island.

AUTOMATIC NATURE OF CHANGES. FUNCTION OF "SIDES"

This brings us back once more to the automatic nature of many such changes. In this way it is to be noted that, while historical data are given for changes introduced from outside such as the arrival of immigrants and

[1] Godefroy (1, 1933, p. 54) expresses the opinion that the inhabitants of Pete-hul-Togh-vanu were the earliest on the island. This opinion appears to be based on the shortness of the genealogies of the remaining villages. This argument cuts both ways, as the interest in genealogies was probably introduced by them and may therefore not have been indigenous.

[2] See p. 90.

[3] See p. 601.

[4] For the exclusive possession of a myth corresponding to the *memel*-fruit myth in Vao by one of six patrilineal clans in South Raga that has not spread to the remaining clans, see p. 140.

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the consequent disruption of an existing social order, the development of the new pattern of culture resulting from this impetus proceeds as if from itself according to the operation of inevitable laws. Thus, while the new overt elements such as the split-up of one village into two is clearly described, and the two elements (i.e. villages) are named, subsequent adjustments occur so automatically that no reason for them is given, and the resulting divisions are not even named.

This is the case with all those sub-divisions which are known as *tosan*, which I have translated as "Sides," a fact emphasised by the shading in Fig. 4 in Chapter III on the overt organisation of the island. Thus, no account whatever is given as to the formation of the "Sides of the Island," nor yet of the "Sides of the Stone" or "Sides of the Lodge." This might be considered to be due to the comparative paucity of historical data from Vao. The same is, however, true of Atchin, from which island I recorded a great deal of historical material, but where in no single case was I furnished with an explanation of a division into the corresponding unnamed "Sides," which in each case appeared to proceed quite automatically. A good illustration from Vao is seen in a recent incident recorded on page 451 regarding the two northern Quarter-Lodges of Pete-hul, from each of which one "Side of the Lodge" owing to a quarrel departed to the mainland and stayed there, whereon the remaining "Side of the Lodge" promptly divided, without further ado, into two.

I have already suggested (p. 156) that the "Sides of the Lodge" may well represent matrilineal divisions consisting of alternate generations in the male line within a given Quarter. The same may also be true in some way of the "Sides of the Stone," which, though appearing at first sight as patrilineal groups, also fulfil in the Maki an alternating function that I failed at the time of my visit fully to understand. This supposition is supported by the fact that while the first two brothers in the foundation story, Na-va-gharu-kalat and To-rom-bambaru, belong to different patrilineal moieties, they both belong to the same "Side of the Stone," the other "Side of the Stone" being represented by the third and fourth brothers Teter-wetaul and Narer-lumture, who in the formulation of the kinship system are seen to belong to matrilineal moiety 2 while the first two brothers belong to matrilineal moiety 1 (see Figs. 37 to 39 and footnote on p. 154). Thus at that period of Vao history, if not at present, the term "Side of the Stone" appears to have been equivalent to "matrilineal moiety." The word "Side" has in this case also a topographical significance, at least it has so in Atchin, where the ten shrines set up in line on the Upper Side of the dancing-ground are divided into two groups set end to end, those belonging to one "Side of the Stone" being to the right and those belonging to the other to the left. This arrangement recalls the two "sides of the house" representing the matrilineal moieties in the Banks Islands. There is moreover a certain resemblance between

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the first syllable of the North Ambrim word *batutun*, meaning "matrilineal moiety," and the word *vatu* in the phrase *tosan na-vatu*, meaning "Side of the Stone." However this may be, the cumulative evidence points strongly to the presumption that these "Sides" all at one time represented matrilineal moieties or sub-divisions of such, even if they do not do so today, and that it is this fact that accounts for the automatic appearance of the divisions they represent. If this is so, then the same must apply to the "Sides of the Island." In this case there is no question of these being matrilineal now, since they represent very definitely the two main patrilineal divisions into which each Small Island is divided. Nevertheless, the attitude of almost permanent hostility and suspicion between these two "Sides" despite their close interrelatedness corresponds so very closely with that reigning between the two matrilineal moieties throughout the Banks Islands and Northern New Hebrides that it is to my mind more than probable that they also were in the first place matrilineal divisions, and that their present patrilocal character is yet another result of thesocial revolution due to the incursion of the patrilineal immigrants under the leadership of Na-va-gharu-kalat.

CONCLUSION

CHANGING NATURE OF ISLAND SYSTEMS

I have now sketched, from a combined study of the kinship terminology, the overt social organisation, the mythology and oral tradition of the natives, the probable course of development of the kinship system of Vao. It will be the task of future field-work to test the results. The system covers a larger area than the single island of Vao, since marriages also occur with the inhabitants of Atchin, Wala and other Small Islands, as well as with those of the mainland of Malekula, all of whom at one time apparently formed part of the same system, though at the time of my visit all these were already in course of disruption and Vao only retained the chief characteristics of a class system. There are thus in these remaining Small Islands many cases of anomalous marriages, leading to frequent disagreement and sometimes to open hostility. These will be studied more closely in future volumes dealing with the culture of Atchin, where the system is already breaking up owing to new influences encroaching from the south.

Among a seafaring population such as that of these islands, no system can be entirely self-contained. The ever-changing nature of these island systems as compared with the comparative stability of those in land-bound Australia is seen from the fact that if the above analysis is even approximately correct, the patrilocal kinship system now existing on Vao began to take on its present form only nine generations ago, and that it took three

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Double-rite performed independently by each village.

The whole double-rite is performed by each village, independently of the others, on its own dancing-ground. Thus, in the case of the dolmen-Maki, now performed only on the Superior Side of the Island, each of the two villages composing it, namely, Pete-hul and Togh-vanu, carries out its own cycle of rites quite separately, while each of the remaining four villages on the Inferior Side carries out independently its own performance of the monolith-Maki newly acquired from Atchin.

THE KINSHIP ELEMENT

Alternate performances by each "line" or matrilineal moiety within the village.

Within each village, the whole double-rite is performed in alternating succession by alternate generations of males, that is to say, by all the men belonging to one "line" or kinship section.[1]

There are thus always, in any given village, two "lines," of which one is always the aspiring "line," composed of those who are performing the Maki and who will, at the culminating ceremony in each part of the rite, perform the chief sacrifice and take new names. These are called *mara maki*,[2] "men of the Maki," or "Maki-men" as I shall call them in the following pages. The other "line" is composed of the Maki-men's fathers and sons, and, in the Maki rites, it is by the descriptive term "fathers and sons" (*temer, natur*) that they are commonly known. It is the members of this "line," and particularly the "sons," assisted on all major occasions by members of other "lines" in the other Vao villages, who do all the hard work, such as hauling and erecting the stones, while the Maki-men provide food for the accompanying feasts, dance and sing ritual songs to lighten their labours, and generally show themselves off to the best possible advantage.

Maki-men are the candidates: "fathers and sons" are the introducers, henceforth known as the introducing "line."

Such are the outward manifestations of the two groups. When we come to examine the character of the rite, however, as one of initiation into the mysteries of symbolic death and re-birth, we find that it is the Maki-men who are the candidates, and the "fathers and sons" who are the introducers and whom I will therefore call henceforth the "introducing line." Thus, each "line" alternately introduces the other, and it is the introducing "line" formed of the "fathers and sons" who are said to be "making the Maki" (i.e. organising it) for *their* sons and fathers who are the Maki-men, and whom these Maki-men have to pay for the right of erecting the stones. This act is called "paying for the stones."[3]

[1] See p. 97. [2] In Atchin *mwere n'maki*. [3] See pp. 368, 416.

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Mothers' brothers are initiators and give Maki-men their new names.

This "paying for the stones" is, however, not an act of initiation, but one of preparation. The true act of initiation lies in the sacrifice of tusked boars and in the taking of a new name, and here it is the mother's brother from another village who appears as the initiator. For it is to the mother's side of the family, coupled with the figure of the Guardian Ghost, that the sacrifice is made, and the mother's brother himself whom each individual Maki-man "pays for the name" and title that signify his re-birth on the assumption of each new rank.[1]

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Patrilineal versus matrilineal system.

This sharp distinction drawn between the functions of the candidate's patrilineal relatives on the one hand and his matrilineal relatives on the other is a fundamental factor in the ritual of the public graded society all over the North and North Central New Hebrides and the Banks Islands, expressed clearly in Oba by the fact that the candidate's father used to indemnify the members of the candidate's matrilineal moiety by payment of a pig "as an acknowledgment that he was intruding on their province, that the patriarchal was intruding on the matriarchal system."[2]

In the same way, in South Raga it is said by Tattevin to be "*on account of the patrilineal organisation* that the sacrifices made to the ancestral ghosts are given to the mother's brother, and, in his name, to all the members of his family or clan."[3]

In Vao, where kinship is reckoned on a sectional basis, it is, as we have seen, not only the Maki-men's fathers but also their sons who assist them in every way and for this assistance are duly paid. In this case neither assistance nor payment is grudged, since the advancement of each section or "line" of the patrilineal clan redounds to the credit of the other, and the monuments erected by each, together with the jaws of the tusked boars which are sacrificed at them, remain in the common dancing-ground as witness to the combined achievement of the whole patrilocal community.

Very different, however, is the relation between the Maki-men and their mothers' brothers. For these literally do nothing but receive the payment already mentioned for allowing the Maki-men to proceed with the rite and thus to become ritually re-born. Even this act moreover is grudged, for, as will be seen later, at the moment when each of the chief Maki-men is about to sacrifice his tusked boar at the dolmen, he finds his way to the dolmen barred by all his mothers' brothers, who will not let him pass through till he has yet further propitiated them by the gift of a

[1] See p. 391.

[2] Codrington, 3, p. 114.

[3] Tattevin, 1, 1926, p. 380 (my italics). For amplification of this statement, see present volume, pp. 721 ff.

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small pig, in precisely the same way as the Guardian Ghost refuses access to the Land of the Dead till similarly indemnified.

In this way the kinship basis of the rite represents yet another aspect of the conflict between on the one hand the former system of overt matrilineal descent represented by the mothers' brothers who alone have power to confer re-birth, and on the other hand the existing system of overt patrilineal descent backed up by patrilocal residence which, having robbed the mothers' brothers of their temporal power, has now relegated them to a purely ritual position which they resent but from which they still derive no inconsiderable tribute in the form of the payment made to them by the Maki-men for their new titles and names.

The following diagram expresses this situation in terms of the four fundamental kinship sections:

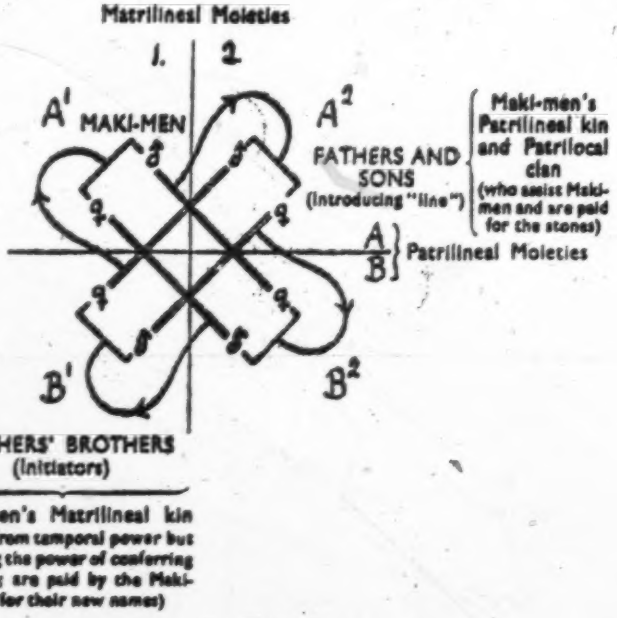

FIG. 42

The wife's father.

The above diagram represents the kinship basis of the whole graded society complex. There is, however, yet a third payment which the Maki-men have to make, which has also been interpolated into the ritual of the Maki. This is the presentation, described later as "Circling for Pigs," [1]

[1] See p. 303.

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which each Maki-man makes before the culminating point of each subrite, to his wife's father.

To those who have followed the development of the patrilineal element in the kinship system from one containing two patrilineal moieties into one which, owing to the bisection of the inferior moiety, now contains three patrilineal trisections, the reason for the special position occupied by the wife's father will be clear. For while, in a 4-section system, in which a man marries his mother's brother's daughter, the wife's father is at the same time the mother's brother, when the inferior patrilineal moiety to which both these belong becomes split (causing a man to marry his mother's brother's daughter's daughter), the mother's brother remains in patrilineal trisection B but the wife's father belongs to the newly formed patrilineal trisection C. In this way the tribute originally due only to the mother's brother also becomes split, one portion now being due to the wife's father, and this, being the latest burden to be imposed and being bound up with the whole debt due from a man to his wife's people, is, as has already been pointed out, particularly irksome.

Owing to the patrilocal nature of Small Island society the rôle of the mother's brother may, if this man is dead or infirm, be taken by the mother's brother's son, and similarly that of the wife's father may be taken by the wife's brother. The resulting sociological pattern, on which the existing Maki is based, is thus the familiar one of a 6-section system, here represented in Fig. 43 to emphasise the chief male participators in the rite.

DOMINANT FAMILIES

Within this framework, in which all males in the community take part and theoretically each has an equal right to achieve the highest rank, in practice each village, in spite of its democratic organisation, contains as a rule one dominant family, namely, the senior branch. Owing to the fact that an "eldest son," once officially proclaimed, holds this position inalienably and cannot, if he die without issue, be succeeded in the title by a younger brother,[1] the succession in seniority is complicated. There is an attempt to keep the succession pure in that "eldest sons" may not be adopted; but younger brothers may be adopted, and they in turn may have official "eldest sons" who belong not to the family of their father's birth but to that into which their father has been adopted. There is thus considerable latitude in the interpretation of what seniority actually is, and little doubt that wealth in pigs plays a considerable part in deciding such knotty questions. Be this as it may, there is in practice, as a rule, one family in each village which holds a dominating position with regard to its various ritual performances, and in particular to the Maki. This family is at the same time usually the wealthiest in pigs, and in consequence its members have

[1] See p. 182.